

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00
SS-15 NSC-05 SP-02 AID-05 FEAE-00 AGRE-00 OMB-01
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FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 0491
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO
AMEMBASSY BANJUL
AMEMBASSY BISSAU
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 5233

USEEC FOR EC BRUSSELS, USMTN FOR MTN GENEVA

E.O. 11652: N/&-
5-& : ECIN, EGEN, XY, US, SG
SUBJECT: ECOWAS
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REF: (A) STATE 159681; (B) DAKAR 4973 (NOTAL),
(C) YAOUNDE 3295 (NOTAL)

1. RESPONSES ARE KEYED TO QUESTIONS IN PAR. 2 OF REFTEL A:
A. ALTHOUGH SENEGAL DELAYED IN RATIFYING ECOWAS TREATY

UNTIL JANUARY 1977 (IN ORDER TO RETAIN MAXIMUM LEVERAGE WHILE ASSOCIATED PROTOCOLS WERE BEING DRAWN UP), SENEGALESE OFFICIALS NOW PROFESS TO BE FULLY COMMITTED TO MAKING ORGANIZATION WORK. WORKING LEVEL PERSONNEL IN MINISTRIES OF TRANSPORTATION AND FINANCE ARE ACTIVELY PREPARING FOR NOVEMBER ECOWAS EXPERTS MEETING IN LAGOS. HOWEVER, SENEGAL'S MOST VIGOROUS EFFORTS ARE DEVOTED TO CONTINUING CAMPAIGN TO EXPAND ECOWAS TO INCLUDE CENTRAL AFRICAN STATES, IN APPARENT EFFORT TO DILUTE NIGERIAN PREPONDERANCE. PRESIDENT SENGHOR HAS SAID ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT HE FORESEES A UNION STRETCHING FROM NOUAKCHOTT TO KINSHASA OR POSSIBLY LUANDA, AND CONTINUING IMPORTANCE GOS ATTACHES TO THIS OBJECTIVE WAS UNDERLINED BY JULY VISIT BY MINISTER OF STATE FOR FINANCE BABACAR BA TO GABON, CONGO, ZAIRE, AND CAMEROON TO ENCOURAGE THESE STATES AND OTHERS TO PRESS FOR ECOWAS ENTRY (REFS B AND C). SENEGALESE ARE CLEARLY PREPARED TO DEVOTE TIME AND RESOURCES THEY FEEL ARE NECESSARY TO SHAPE EVOLUTION OF ECOWAS INDIRECTIONS THEY CONSIDERABLE FAVORABLE.

B. WHEN ASKED, SENEGALESE OFFICIALS MAINTAIN THAT ECOWAS AND CEAO ARE FULLY "COMPLEMENTARY," BUT EFFORT TO EXPAND ECOWAS REFLECTS THEIR VIEW OF LARGER ENTITY AS HETEROGENEOUS GROUPING TRANSECTED BY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES. FIRST PRIORITY IS THUS GIVEN TO STRENGTHENING COOPERATION AMONG FRANCOPHONE CEAO MEMBERS AS CLOSELY KNIT CORE OF LIKE-MINDED STATES. SENGHOR'S ADVOCACY OF RECENTLY-SIGNED CEAO DEFENSE AND NON-AGGRESSION PACT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DEMONSTRATES DESIRE FOR EXPANDED FORMS OF COOPERATION WITHIN CEAO FRAMEWORK WHICH GO FAR BEYOND ROLE SENEGALESE SEE FOR ECOWAS FOR FORESEEABLE FUTURE. SENEGAL ALSO ATTACHES HIGH PRIORITY TO ENCOURAGEMENT OF SPECIALIZED MULTINATIONAL INSTITUTIONS WHICH SERVE TO TIE NEIGHBORING STATES INTO NETWORKS OF COOPERATION WITH DAKAR AS LYNCHPIN. THESE INCLUDE SENEGAL RIVER BASIN DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION (OMVS), GAMBIA RIVER VALLEY DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (OMVG) AND OTHER MECHANISMS. HIGH HOPES FOR COOPERATION IN OMVS FRAMEWORK WERE EVIDENT IN CALLS FOR TRI-STATE INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION WHICH WERE VOICED DURING JULY OMVS MINISTERIAL IN DAKAR. IN SUCH REGIONAL ENTERPRISES ZU ASECNA (AGENCE POUR LA SECURITE DE LA NAVIGATION AERIENNE EN AFRIQUE) AIR AFRIQUE AND THOSE OF AFRICAN-MAURITIAN COMMON ORGANIZATION (OCAM), SENEGAL ALSO ENJOYS POSITION OF INFLUENCE, IN MOST CASES SHARING DOMINANT ROLE WITH IVORY COAST. OPPORTUNITY FOR SENEGAL TO USE THESE REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS TO INCREASE ITS INFLUENCE AND ADVANCE NATIONAL GOALS HELPS EXPLAIN THEIR RELATIVE ATTRACTIVENESS VIS-A-VIS LARGER GROUPINGS WHERE SENEGALESE WOULD BE VERY SMALL FISH.

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 5233

USEEC FOR EC BRUSSELS, USMTN FOR MTN GENEVA

FOREMOST IN SENEGALESE MINDS WHEN THEY SPEAK OF
"DIFFERENCES" BE-
TWEEN ECOWAS MEMBER STATES IS HOSTILITY
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TOWARD SENEGAL AND IVORY COAST BY GUINEA (WHICH DROPPED OUT OF OMVS PREDECESSOR ORGANIZATION). THIS DOES NOT POSE IMPEDIMENT TOWARD SENEGALESE PARTICIPATION IN ECOWAS, AS SENEGAL HAS MADE POINT OF KEEPING DOOR OPEN TO COOPERATION WITH GUINEA, BUT PAST EFFORTS TO WORK WITH SEKOU TOURE LEAVE SENEGALESE SKEPTICAL OVER RAPID EVOLUTION OF ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS DEPENDENT ON CLOSE GUINEAN COLLABORATION. BEST BET IS THAT SENEGAL WILL NOT BE IN FOREFRONT OF ECOWAS LEADERSHIP (ASIDE FROM TRYING TO EXPAND COMMUNITY), BUT WILL NOT IMPEDE GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY IF ALL OTHERS MEMBERS CONTINUE TO GO ALONG.

C. GOS OFFICIALS BELIEVE WEST AFRICAN CLEARING HOUSE WILL HAVE TO BE EXPANDED TO EXPEDITE PAYMENTS.

D. SENEGAL'S EXTENSIVE AIR AND SHIPPING LINKS GIVE IT GOOD ACCESS TO COASTAL WEST AFRICAN MARKETS, THOUGH PRESENT ABSENCE OF BRIDGES TO NEIGHBORING MAURITANIA AND GAMBIA DEMONSTRATES HOW FAR ECOWAS STATES HAVE TO GO TO HAVE BAREST RUDIMENTS OF INTERSTATE TRANSPORT SYSTEM. RAILROAD GOES ONLY TO MALI. TELECOMMUNICATIONS EVEN LESS WELL DEVELOPED, BUT LAYING OF UNDERSEA CABLE TO ABIDJAN AND IMPROVEMENT OF LINKS TO NEIGHBORING NOUAKCHOTT, BANJUL AND BISSAU REFLECT SENEGALESE EFFORTS AT INTEGRATION. PERHAPS THESE EFFORTS CAN BE MADE TO DOVETAIL WITH THOSE BEING UNDERTAKEN ELSEWHERE IN ECOWAS COMMUNITY.

E. SENEGALESE OFFICIALS ACKNOWLEDGE LACK OF COMPLEMENTARITY AMONG ECOWAS ECONOMIES RESULTING FROM COLONIALY-DERIVED TRADE PATTERNS. THEY SEE INSTITUTIONS SUCH AS CEAO AND ECOQAS AS VEHICLES FOR PROMOTING COMPLEMENTARITY WHICH HAS NOT EXISTED IN PAST.

F. PRESENT SENEGALESE CONCENTRATION ON LONG-RANGE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES, EXPANSION OF EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRY, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TOURISM PROMOTION, AND FISHERIES EXPLOITATION UNLIKELY TO HAVE MAJOR IMPACT ON ECOWAS COMPLEMENTARITY/COMPETITIVENESS QUESTION. MUCH OF SENEGALESE INDUSTRY OPERATED BELOW CAPACITY AFTER INDEPENDENCE DUE LOSS OF FRENCH WEST AFRICAN HINTERLAND. WHILE PROBLEM OF EXCESS CAPACITY HAS RECEDED IN INTERVENING YEARS, UNDER FREE TRADE ZONE COULD BE STIMULUS FOR ESTABLISHED FIRMS TO TRY TO REGAIN MARKETS OUTSIDE SENEGAL.

G. EMBASSY WOULD EXPECT SENEGAL TO MEET ITS LIMITED FINANCIAL COMMITMENTS TO ECOWAS, BUT IN JULY 29 CONVERSATION WITH EMBASSY, GOS OFFICIAL INSISTED THAT FINAL DECISIONS ON INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY SHARES HAD YET TO BE MADE AND ARGUED AT LENGTH THAT, JUST AS IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL CARRY CEAO BURDEN FOR THEIR POORER NEIGHBORS, ECOWAS MUST BE BOLSTERED

BY NIGERIAN WEALTH.

H. APPROXIMATELY 53 PERCENT OF 1977-78 BUDGET.

I. GOS TAKES POSITION THAT LOSS OF CUSTOMS REVENUES
CAN BE OFFSET BY VARIOUS ECOWAS MECHANISMS.

J. GOS OFFICIALLY EXPECTS TIMETABLE TO BE MET, BUT HISTORY
OF PREVIOUS ATTEMPTS ELSEWHERE IN AFRICA DICTATES LESS
HOPEFUL VIEW.

K. IF FULL-FLEDGED FREE-TRADE AREA DEVELOPS, EXPANDED
MARKET OFFERED BY ECOWAS SHOULD IN PRINCIPLE ATTRACT
INCREASED UE INVESTMENT AND EXPORTS. INTRODUCTION OF
COMMON EXTERNAL TARIFFS WOULD HAVE SIDE BENEFIT OF
ELIMI

ATING REVERSE PREFERENCES FOR EUROPEAN GOODS WHICH
CONTINUE TO EXIST IN SENEGAL THROUGH TWO-TIERED CUSTOMS
SYSTEM.

L. POSSIBLY, BUT CERTAINLY NOT TO THE EXCLUSION OF
BILATERAL AID OR ASSISTANCE TO REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT
SCHEMES SUCH AS OMVS.

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